2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent canefields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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PRIEST'S HOUSE AND CHURCH AT BAPAYO GRANDE

[p. 48(b)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

quest, differs from the other buildings in that it is not raised above the ground and in that it is always enclosed nowadays with lumber obtained from the mills near the mouth of the river. Within the church there is a rude, high altar, with several images of saints; otherwise the building is entirely unfurnished. The front of the church at Pueblo Sapayo Grande is shown in pl. IV, and the fundamental differences in construction between a church and a dwelling are well shown by the contrast between the two buildings in this illustration. The building in the left foreground is the convento, or house of the priest, and is a typical Cayapa dwelling in every respect. The most characteristic features of a church—its lack of piles, its completely enclosed sides, and its roof, the central portion of which is raised some feet above the remainder—are well shown in the illustrations of the church at Punta Venado. This structure, which is the largest of the three churches of the Cayapa, is shown in the background of pl. XXIV and in pls. CXXXII, CXXXIII, CXXXV, and CXXXVII. It is about 80 feet long, 35 feet wide, and about 25 feet high at the ridge of the building. The eaves are about 10 feet above the ground. This building is nearly twice the size of the church at either Pueblo Sapayo Grande or Pueblo San Miguel. Of these two churches the latter is somewhat larger than the former. The church at Punta Venado differs from the other two also in that it has a wooden floor, which, like its sides, is made of sawed lumber. The framework of the church is in all essentials the same as that of a dwelling, except for the fact that the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1-3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

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3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

FIESTEROS AND CHURCH AT PUNTA VENADO

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Canapa SD6

EASTER FESTIVAL AT PUNTA VERADO

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 356(a)]

FIRING "SALVOS" IN THE PLAZA

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

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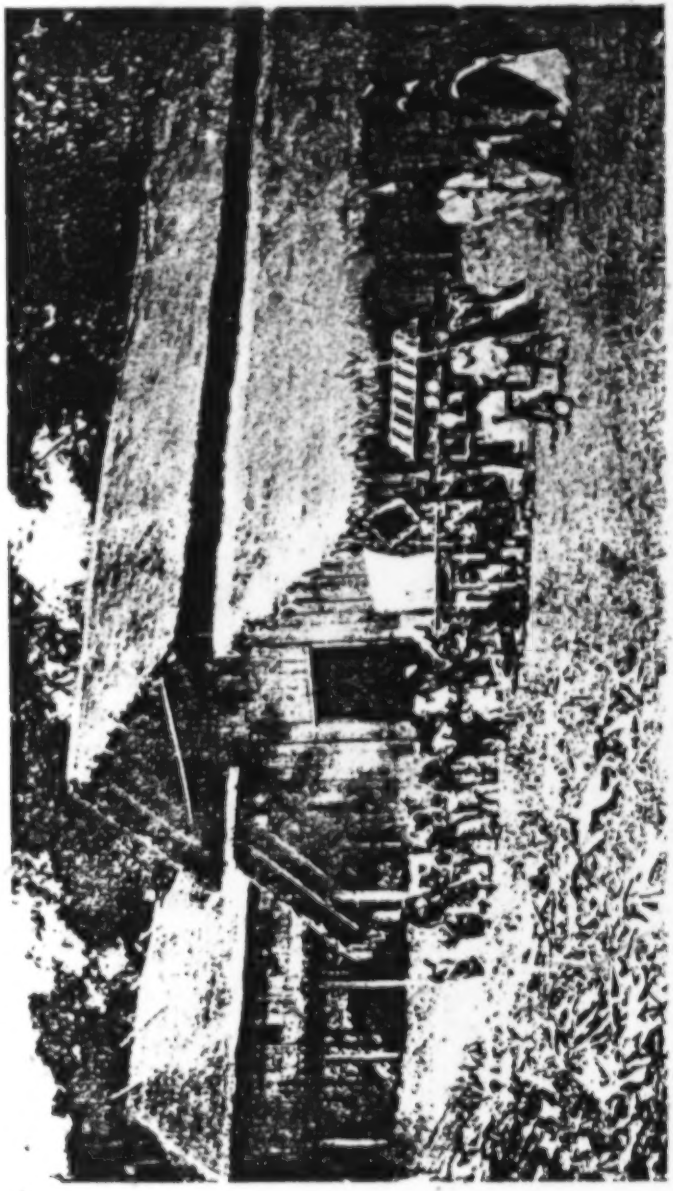
PL. CXXXV



PROCESSION CIRCLING THE PLAZA

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[P. 388(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
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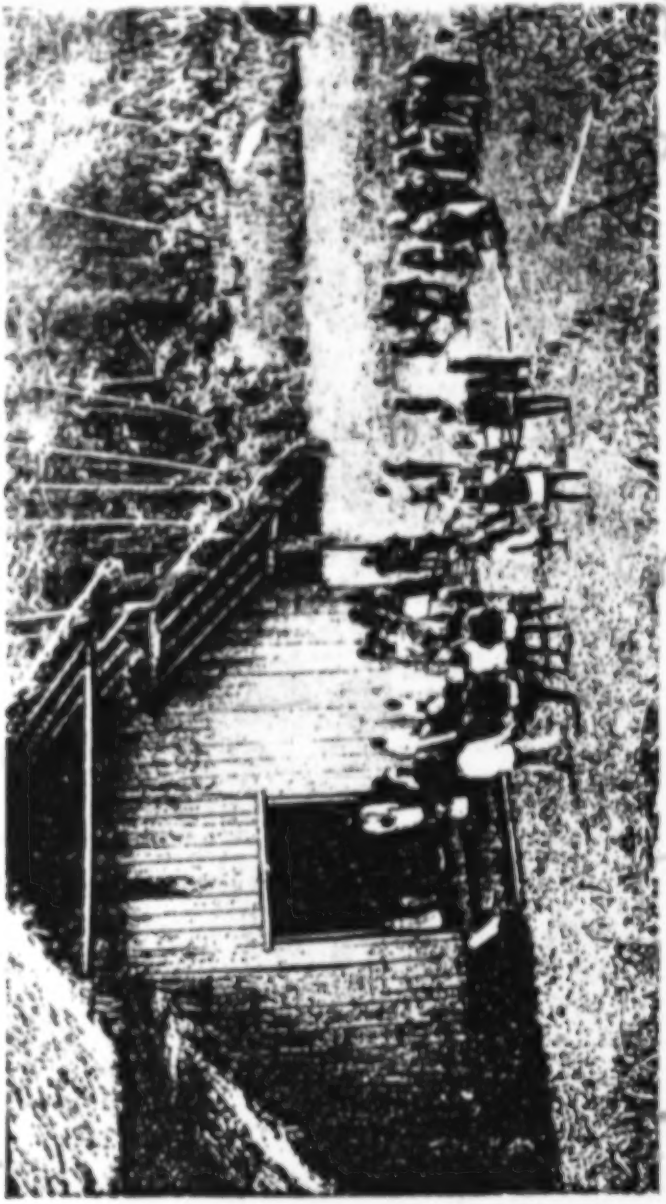
PL. CXXXVII



PROCESSION REENTERING THE CHURCH

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 390(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

before the appointed time a large canoe manned by a deputation of Cayapa is sent by the chief to La Tola, or wherever the priest may happen to be residing at the time, and he is brought up. His arrival at the pueblo is usually preceded by the gathering of practically all the Cayapa who can attend the fiesta, although some stragglers may not appear until the following day.

In each of the three Cayapa villages there is a special house, known by the Spanish term convento ("monastery"), which is reserved for the priest and at no time is ever occupied by anyone else. After establishing himself the priest usually goes directly to the church and holds the first service, and thereafter throughout his stay he is kept busy holding services of one kind or another. Usually two regular services are held each day, besides the various special masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, especially those who have died within the year. In addition to these services the priest officiates at all the marriages, baptisms, and confirmations for the year past. He remains usually from a week to two weeks at each of the three Cayapa villages, depending on the interest of the Indians and the apparent need of his presence.

As in each of the other fiestas described, ofrendas and bodas are held almost every day, and sometimes several in a single day. Except in one particular these are the same as the ofrendas and bodas at the other fiestas and those celebrated between times. On this occasion every one who intends to give a feast usually brings to the morning service in the church a small portion or several small portions of each kind of food to be used at the feast.

will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.